

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----072030 111653Z /43
P 111429Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9509
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 07223

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF MAY 10, 1978
(SALT TWO-1733)

MR. MINISTER:

- I

TODAY I WILL RETURN TO ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
ISSUES BETWEEN THE SIDES, THE LIMITATION OF NEW TYPES OF
ICBMS.

- II

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT, FOR THE TERM OF
THE PROTOCOL, THE SIDES UNDERTAKE NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR
DEPLOY NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, THAT IS, TYPES OF ICBMS NOT
FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978. THE UNITED STATES
ALSO HAS PROPOSED AN AGREED STATEMENT WHICH SETS FORTH THE
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CRITERIA WHICH WOULD BE USED FOR DETERMINING WHETHER A
PARTICULAR ICBM IS OF AN EXISTING TYPE OR IS OF A NEW
TYPE, AND WHICH WOULD PROVIDE RESTRICTIONS ON THE NUMBER
OF REENTRY VEHICLES FOR EXISTING TYPES OF ICBMS.

THE SOVIET DELEGATION, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS PRO-
POSED THAT, FOR THE TERM OF THE PROTOCOL, THE SIDES UNDER-

TAKE NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, EXCEPT THAT EACH SIDE WOULD BE PERMITTED TO FLIGHT-TEST AND DEPLOY ONE NEW TYPE OF ICBM EQUIPPED WITH A SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLE. THE SOVIET DELEGATION ALSO HAS PROPOSED AN AGREED STATEMENT WHICH STATES THAT NEW TYPES OF ICBMS INCLUDE ALL TYPES OF ICBMS THE FLIGHT TESTS OF WHICH WERE INITIATED AFTER 1976, AND WHICH SETS FORTH SOME ADDITIONAL CRITERIA FOR CONSIDERING ICBMS TO BE NEW TYPES OF ICBMS.

- III

THUS, IT IS APPARENT THAT THERE IS SOME COINCIDENCE OF VIEW ON A NUMBER OF ASPECTS OF THE LIMITATION OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. HOWEVER, THERE IS A BASIC DISAGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF AN EXCEPTION FOR ONE NEW TYPE OF ICBM. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS ITS POSITION THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF A PROHIBITION ON THE FLIGHT-TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS FOR THE TERM OF THE PROTOCOL, THERE CAN BE NO EXCEPTION FOR THE FLIGHT-TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF A NEW TYPE OF ICBM, EVEN IF ICBMS OF THAT TYPE ARE EQUIPPED ONLY WITH A SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLE. THE REASONS FOR THIS POSITION HAVE BEEN STATED BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION ON MANY OCCASIONS, AND I WILL NOT REPEAT THEM TODAY.

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- IV

HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, THE UNITED STATES IS NOW PREPARED TO PROPOSE AN ALTERNATIVE TO ITS CURRENT PROPOSAL, WHICH TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION CONCERNING AN EXCEPTION TO THE PROHIBITION ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. THIS ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD PERMIT EACH SIDE ONE EXCEPTION TO A PROHIBITION ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, PROVIDED THAT THE PROHIBITION ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS IS IN FORCE FOR THE TERM OF THE TREATY, AS OPPOSED TO THE TERM OF THE PROTOCOL, AND PROVIDED FURTHER THAT THE NEW TYPE OF ICBM PERMITTED TO EACH SIDE IS A LIGHT ICBM WHICH MAY BE EITHER MIRVED OR NON-MIRVED.

ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES, AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES FOR PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL, THE FOLLOWING AS PARAGRAPH 9 OR ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY:

PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY

9. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST
OR DEPLOY NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, THAT IS, TYPES OF
ICBMS NOT FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978, EX-
CEPT THAT EACH PARTY MAY FLIGHT-TEST AND DEPLOY
ONE NEW TYPE OF LIGHT ICBM.

IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING
AGREED STATEMENT AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO THIS
PROVISION:

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 07223

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- AGREED STATEMENT TO
PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE TERM "NEW TYPES
OF ICBMS" IN PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE
TREATY REFERS TO ANY ICBM WHICH IS DIFFERENT
FROM THOSE ICBMS FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978,
IN ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING RESPECTS:

(A) THE NUMBER OF STAGES, THE LENGTH, THE
LARGEST DIAMETER, THE LAUNCH-WEIGHT, OR THE
THROW-WEIGHT, OF THE MISSILE;

(B) THE INITIAL WEIGHT, THE TYPE OF PRO-
PELLANT (THAT IS, LIQUID OR SOLID), OR THE
TOTAL IMPULSE, OF ANY OF ITS STAGES;

(C) THE INITIAL WEIGHT, THE TYPE OF PROPELLANT (THAT IS, LIQUID OR SOLID), OR THE TOTAL IMPULSE, OF A SELF-CONTAINED DISPENSING MECHANISM OR OTHER APPROPRIATE DEVICE FOR TARGETING ONE REENTRY VEHICLE, OR FOR RELEASING OR FOR DISPENSING AND TARGETING TWO OR MORE REENTRY VEHICLES. THE PARTIES ALSO AGREE THAT, IN CONNECTION WITH THE OBLIGATION OF PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY AN ICBM OF A TYPE FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF APRIL 15, 1978, WHICH HAS A NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES GREATER THAN THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF REENTRY VEHICLES FLIGHT-TESTED ON AN ICBM OF THAT TYPE AS OF THAT DATE, OR WHICH HAS A REENTRY VEHICLE THE WEIGHT OF WHICH IS LESS THAN THE WEIGHT OF THE LIGHTEST REENTRY VEHICLE FLIGHT-TESTED ON AN ICBM OF THAT TYPE AS OF THAT DATE.

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(FIRST) COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY

THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT, AS USED IN THE AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY, THE TERM "DIFFERENT", REFERRING TO LENGTH, DIAMETER, LAUNCH-WEIGHT, THROW-WEIGHT, INITIAL WEIGHT, AND TOTAL IMPULSE, MEANS A DIFFERENCE IN EXCESS OF FIVE PERCENT.

(SECOND) COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY

THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT THE LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO LAUNCH-WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT, PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY AND THE AGREED STATEMENT AND THE PRECEDING COMMON UNDERSTANDING THERETO, DO NOT PRECLUDE THE FLIGHT-TESTING OR THE DEPLOYMENT OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH NUMBERS OF REENTRY VEHICLES OR PENETRATION AIDS LESS THAN THE MAXIMUM NUMBERS

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OF REENTRY VEHICLES AND PENETRATION AIDS WHICH
HAVE BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED ON AN ICBM OF THAT
TYPE AS OF APRIL 15, 1978, EVEN IF THIS RESULTS
IN A DECREASE IN LAUNCH-WEIGHT OR THROW-WEIGHT
IN EXCESS OF FIVE PERCENT.

THE REASONS FOR THIS AGREED STATEMENT AND THESE COMMON
UNDERSTANDINGS ARE THE SAME AS THOSE PROVIDED BY THE
UNITED STATES DELEGATION ON APRIL 26, AND THEREFORE I
WILL NOT REPEAT THE RATIONALE FOR THEM TODAY. HOWEVER,
I WILL NOTE ADDITIONALLY THAT THE FIVE PERCENT CRITERION
CONTAINED IN THE FIRST COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH
9 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY WOULD APPLY ONLY TO THE
MEANING OF THE WORD "DIFFERENT" AND THEREFORE WOULD NOT
AFFECT OTHER LIMITATIONS IN THE TREATY. THUS, FOR EX-
AMPLE, IT WOULD NOT AFFECT THE ALREADY AGREED PROVISIONS
REGARDING THE MAXIMUM LAUNCH-WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT OF
LIGHT AND HEAVY ICBMS, AS SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPH 7 OF
ARTICLE II AND PARAGRAPH 7 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY.

MR. MINISTER, IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES,
EITHER THE PROPOSAL TABLED BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGA-
TION ON APRIL 26, 1978, OR THE PROPOSAL WE HAVE TABLED
TODAY WOULD REPRESENT AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME TO THE
IMPORTANT ISSUE OF THE LIMITATION OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS.
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